

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03  
NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-12 HA-05  
BIB-01 CU-04 /097 W  
-----017663 091153Z /21/13

R 021626Z NOV 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3233

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION USNATO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 7572

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (REFERENCE C)

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE--JAMMING

REF: A) STATE 257859; B) BELGRADE 7455 (NOTAL); C) BELGRADE 6988  
(NOTAL); D) BELGRADE 7260 (NOTAL); E) BELGRADE 7035 (NOTAL)

SUMNL V: JAMMING ISSUE, DEFINED IN TERMS OF SOVIET INTE-  
REFERENCE WITH RL BROADCASTS, HAS LARGELY BEEN LIMITED TO  
BASKET THREE WORKING BODY EXCHANGES, FLARING UP AS MOST  
HEATED US-SOVIET EXCHANGE TO DATE ON OCTOBER 28. WHILE  
SOVIET PARTNERS HAVE BEEN HESITANT TO JOIN IN CLASH,  
LARGER ALLIES HAVE GIVEN US STRONG SUPPORT. NEUTRALS  
AND SMALLER ALLIES HAVE HIT EAST ON GENERAL OBSTACLES  
TO INFORMATION FLOW, BUT HAVE AVOIDED DIRECT CRITICISM  
ON JAMMING. END SUMMARY.

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1. EXCEPT FOR BRIEF REFERENCES IN US OPEN AND CLOSED  
PLENARY STATEMENTS (REF C) AND SOVIET RESPONSE IN CLOSED  
PLENARY DEBATE (REF E), ISSUE OF RADIO BROADCASTS AND  
EASTERN JAMMING HAS BEEN LIMITED TO BASKET THREE SUB-  
SIDIARY WORKING GROUP (SWB) DISCUSSION ON FINAL ACT  
INFORMATION SECTION DURING WEEK OF OCTOBER 24. (COMMENT:

SHARPNESS OF SOVIET ATTACK ON RL/RFE IN CLOSED PLENARY, WHILE REFLECTING MOSCOW'S CONCERN AND SENSITIVITIES OVER RADIOS, APPEARS IN SOME MEASURE TO HAVE BEEN GAUGED TO EARLIER US CRITICISM OF SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK INTERFERENCE WITH RADIOS. END COMMENT.)

2. REFLECTING FINAL ACT'S RELATIVELY DETAILED TREATMENT ON PRINTED INFORMATION AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, FOCUS OF WEEKLONG SWB INFORMATION DISCUSSION CENTERED PRIMARILY ON THESE TOPICS RATHER THAN BROADCASTING. DURING OCTOBER 28 SESSION, HOWEVER, JAMMING FLARED INTO MOST HEATED US-SOVIET EXCHANGE TO DATE IN BELGRADE (REF B). SINGLE-DAY CLASH ENDED WHEN SWB TURNED TO SUBJECT OF CULTURE AT SUBSEQUENT SESSION.

3. DEFINED BASICALLY IN TERMS OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE WITH RL BROADCASTS, ISSUE IS GENERALLY SEEN AS PRIMARILY BIG-POWER CLASH. NEVERTHELESS, WHILE MOSCOW'S WARSAW PACT PARTNERS APPEARED RELUCTANT-- DESPITE SOME OBVIOUS SOVIET PRESSURE-- TO ENGAGE IN HARDHITTING EXCHANGE, FRG, UK, BELGIAN, DUTCH AND ITALIAN DELS FOLLOWED US LEAD, SCORING SOVIET PRACTICES IN BROADCASTING AREA. SMALLER ALLIES AND NEUTRALS HAVE ALSO HIT EASTERN DOUBLE-STANDARDS AND URGED UNHINDERED FLOW OF IDEAS, THOUGH GENERALLY IN CONTEXT OF OVERALL INFORMATION EXCHANGE.

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#### 4. EASTERN THEMES AND POSITIONS:

A. ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY EAST RELATED TO BROADCASTING ISSUE IN BELGRADE EXCHANGES HAVE CONSISTED OF FOLLOWING:

##### I. GENERAL THEMES:

(1) EASTERN INFORMATION CRITICAL OF WEST FALLS UNDER HEADING OF "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE"; MUCH OF INFORMATION DISSEMINATED BY WEST, HOWEVER, IS PART OF "PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE" AGAINST EAST.

-- A STANDARD EASTERN THEME SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE WHICH HAS BEEN RAISED IN A NUMBER OF CONTEXTS, E.G. FINAL ACT HUMAN CONTACTS PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLE 6 (NON-INTERVENTION) VARIATIONS OF THIS ARGUMENT WITH REGARD TO THE BASKET THREE INFORMATION PROVISIONS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) MASS MEDIA CAN SERVE PEACE, BUT CAN ALSO SPREAD DISTRUST.

-- ADVANCED PARTICULARLY BY GDR AS WELL AS SOVIET DEL.

(B) WESTERN MEDIA SPREADS LIES ABOUT COMMUNIST STATES.

--FAVORITE THEME OF SOVIET AND CZECH DELS. POLISH REP PREFERS TERM "HALF-TRUTHS", WHILE BULGARIAN HAS SIMPLY SPOKEN OF "POLITICAL INFORMATION".

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SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-12  
DHA-05 BIB-01 CU-04 /097 W  
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R 021626Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3234  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

(2) DISSEMINATION OF SOME WESTERN INFORMATION (PARTICU-  
LARLY RL/RFE BROADCASTS) REPRESENTS INTERFERENCE IN IN-  
TERNAL AFFAIRS.

--ANOTHER BASIC EASTERN THEME, THE ARGUMENT IS AD-  
VANCED ON THE BASIS OF A BROAD INTERPRETATION OF  
PRINCIPLE 6.

(3) FINAL ACT PROVISIONS PERTAIN ONLY TO "POSITIVE" IN-  
FORMATION SERVING THE ADVANCEMENT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

--FIRST ADVANCED AT BELGRADE BY SOVIET REP DURING  
CLOSED PLENARY STATEMENT, ARGUMENT HAS BEEN ECHOED  
SUBSEQUENTLY BY NEARLY ALL EASTERN STATES, MOST STRONGLY  
BY GDR. BASIS OF ARGUMENT CENTERS ON EAST'S CONDITIONAL  
AS WELL AS RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION OF MINI-PREAMBLE  
AND BROADCASTING PROVISION OF INFORMATION SECTION OF  
FINAL ACT. ARGUMENT RESTS ON TENUOUS SEMANTIC ACRO-  
BATICS -- E.G., "SO AS TO MEET" INTERPRETED AS CON-  
DITIONAL "IN ORDER TO MEET". EAST, HOWEVER, HAS NOT YET  
SOUGHT REFUGE IN TRANSLATION NUANCES OF BASKET III  
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LANGUAGE, SUCH AS IN PHRASE "DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS" WHERE LAST WORD IN RUSSIAN TEXT CAN BE TRANSLATED AS "FORMS".

(4) JUST AS EAST AND WEST HAVE DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, SO TOO ARE THERE DIFFERENT INFORMATION SYSTEMS WHICH CANNOT CHANGE OVERNIGHT.

--THIS THEME WAS FIRST ADVANCED BY HUNGARIAN DEL AND LATER ELABORATED UPON BY SOVIET REP TO EXPLAIN 'NATURAL, EAST-WEST DIVISION IN INFORMATION FIELD.

(5) THE STATE HAS RIGHT AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROMOTING "GOOD AND SUPPRESSING "BAD" INFORMATION.

II. SPECIFIC ARGUMENTS AND CRITICISMS: (ALL ADVANCED BY SOVIET DEL)

(6) RIGHT TO PROHIBIT BROADCASTS RECOGNIZED IN ARTICLE 20 OF UN COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS WHEN TRANSMISSIONS THREATEN NATIONAL SECURITY. FINAL ACT ALSO SUPPORTS THIS VIEW VIA PRINCIPLE 6.

-- ON THIS ISSUE, SOVIET REP QUOTED 1971 RL GUIDE-LINES TO EFFECT THAT RADIO SEEKING TO CHANGE SOVIET SYSTEM AND NOTED THAT

-- MOSCOW DOES NOT JAM "NATIONAL" RADIOS OR ANY OF 40 FOREIGN RADIOS RECEIVED, EXCEPT RL WHICH IS "SEEN BY SOVIET PEOPLE AS A HOSTILE RADIO STATION."

(7) RADIO MOSCOW CANNOT BE COMPARED WITH RL.

-- IN ADDITION TO NOTING "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE/ PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE" DISTINCTION IN CONTENT OF BROADCASTS, SOVIET REP CRITICIZED RL FOR NOT TRANSMITTING IN ENGLISH OR GERMAN TO US AND FRG, CONTRASTING WITH RADIO MOSCOW BROADCASTS TO OWN PUBLIC. DIFFERENCE IN TARGET AUDIENCE ALLEGEDLY DEMONSTRATES GENERAL SUBVERSIVE NATURE OF RL.

(8) RL IS MANNED BY "MILITARY CRIMINALS", TOTALLY LACKING IN OBJECTIVITY.  
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-- SOVIETS, UNDER THIS HEADING, HAVE LAUNCHED PERSONAL ATTACK ON TWO RL EMPLOYEES. (REF B)  
B. EASTERN POSITIONS: (1) SOVIETS HAVE BEEN OUT IN FRONT AMONG WARSAW PACT ON QUESTION OF BROADCASTING, THOUGH THEY HAVE TRIED TO PROD PARTNERS INTO JOINING FRAY WITH WEST. SOVIET DEL PASSED UP OPPORTUNITY TO HIT RADIOS DURING INITIAL SWB INTERVENTION ON INFORMATION (OCTOBER 21). CZECH DEL -- EAST'S LIGHTNING ROD DURING HUMAN CONTACTS AND PRINCIPLE 6 DISCUSSIONS --ASSUMED POINT POSITION. DURING OCTOBER 24 SESSION, HE ATTACKED RL/RFE BY NAME FOR "SPREADING LIES" AND INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EASTERN STATES. SINCE FIRM US RESPONSE THAT SAME DAY, DEFENDING RADIOS AND TAKING CZECHS TO TASK, CZECH DEL HAS BEEN SILENT ON

THIS ISSUE (REF D). LIKEWISE, BULGARIANS, WHO  
MADE OBLIQUE CRITICAL REFERENCE TO TRANSMISSION  
OF "POLITICAL INFORMATION OVER BULGARIA" ON OCTOBER  
24 HAVE SINCE NOT COME BACK TO BROADCASTING ISSUE.  
(2) SOVIET REP FINALLY CAME OUT IN FRONT DURING OCTOBER  
27 SESSION, DENOUNCING ACTIVITIES OF RADIOS AS  
"MOST FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS" OF FINAL ACT AND FIRING  
OFF SPECIFIC CRITICISMS NOTED PARA 4.A.II. ATTACKS  
ESCALATED TO INVECTIVES AGAINST RL EMPLOYEES FOLLOWING  
DAY INRESPONSE TO STRONG, SUPPORTIVE US STATEMENT ON  
RADIOS. POLISH AND GDR REPS WEIGHED IN (REF B). POLISH

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NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-12  
BIB-01 CU-04 DHA-05 /097 W  
-----112882 030415Z /13

R 021626Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3235  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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REP, APPARENTLY GROPING FOR PROPER TONE, MADE RAMBLING  
DEFENSE CENTERING ON "INTERFERENCE" ARGUMENT. GDR REP,  
JUMPING BRIEFLY INTO EXCHANGE AND APPARENTLY MOTIVATED  
MORE BY DESIRE TO SPAR WITH FRG THAN TO UPHOLD JAMMING,  
ECHOED SAME ARGUMENT.  
(3) MOSCOW'S OTHER ALLIES HAVE MANAGED TO DUCK ISSUE.  
DIFFERENCES IN PRACTICES AMONG BLOC STATES APPARENTLY  
HAVE NOT ONLY WEAKENED ANY HOPE MOSCOW MIGHT HAVE HAD  
FOR UNITED EASTERN FRONT ON THIS ISSUE, BUT HAVE ALLOWED  
SOME EASTERN DELS TO AVOID VOICING EVEN GENERAL SUPPORT  
FOR SOVIET LINE ON BROADCASTING.

4. WESTERN THEMES AND POSITIONS:

A) WESTERN DELS IN BELGRADE DISCUSSION ON INFORMATION HAVE CONTINUALLY STRESSED NEED FOR FREER FLOW OF IDEAS WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON REDUCTION OF ARTIFICIAL PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON REDUCTION OF ARTIFICIAL OBSTACLES. THEMES RELATED TO BROADCASTING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ELABORATING ON THIS POSITION HAVE INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

I. GENERAL THEMES:

(1) BROADER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION CONTRIBUTES TO ADVANCEMENT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

--BUILDING UPON THIS THEME, WESTERN DELS HAVE NOTED IN PARTICULAR THAT:

(A) CONTRARY TO EASTERN INTERPRETATION, FINAL ACT LANGUAGE ON LINK BETWEEN INFORMATION AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING DECLARATORY, NOT CONDITIONAL.

--STRESSED PARTICULARLY BY US, FRG AND AUSTRIA

(B) SIMILARLY, FINAL ACT DOES NOT MAKE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "ACCEPTABLE" TYPES OF INFORMATION, BUT CALLS FOR "FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS."

--NEARLY ALL WESTERN DELS HAVE REITERATED THIS THEME.

(C) PARTIAL INFORMATION LEADS TO DISTORTIONS AND RUNS COUNTER TO DEVELOPMENT OF FULLER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

--INITIALLY STRESSED BY US, SUBSEQUENTLY PICKED UP BY VARIOUS OTHER WESTERN DELS.

(D) FINAL ACT DOES NOT CONFER ON STATES RIGHTS TO IMPOSE CENSORSHIP.

--NORWEGIAN REP UNDERSCORED THIS IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET ARGUMENT NOTED PARA 4.A.(6).

(2) INDIVIDUAL, NOT STATE, SHOULD BE FREE TO DETERMINE WHAT HE OR SHE WANTS TO READ, SEE, HEAR OR LEARN. THIS THEME HAS BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY CALL FOR FAITH IN JUDGMENT OF INDIVIDUAL IN DETERMINING VALIDITY OF INFORMATION.

(3) EASTERN DISTINCTION BETWEEN "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" AND "PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE" IS SPECIOUS AND REPRESENTS ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY EAST'S DOUBLE STANDARDS IN INFORMATION FIELD.

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-- MOST FORCEFULLY ADVANCED BY UK, FRG AND AUSTRIAN REPS, LATTER OF WHOM EFFECTIVELY QUOTED EASTERN BROADCAST OF "SOME WHILE BACK" SCORING WESTERN TRANS-

MISSIONS OF JAZZ MUSIC AS SUBTLE CAMPAIGN OF PSYCHO-  
LOGICAL WAREFARE.

II SPECIFIC ARGUMENTS AND CRITICISMS:

(4) JAMMING OF BROADCASTS RUNS COUNTER TO: ARTICLE 19  
OF UN DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, INTERNATIONAL TELE-  
COMMUNICATIONS CONVENTION, AND FINAL ACT PROVISION ON  
"FREER AND WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION OF ALL  
KINDS".

-- ADVANCED BY US REP.

(5) JAMMING REPRESENTS WORST FORM OF CENSORSHIP, E.E.  
CENSORSHIP WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF TEXT.

--ADVANCED BY FRG, REP ALSO COMPARED JAMMING TO  
BOOK BURNING AND DENOUNCED AS ANACHRONISTIC.

(6) IF, AS EAST ALLEGES, PUBLICS OFFENDED BY CERTAIN  
BROADCASTS, SOLUTION LIES IN SWITCHING OFF RADIO, NOT  
GOVERNMENT JAMMING.

-- ADVANCED INITIALLY BY UK REP.

(7) WESTERN GOVERNMENTS DO NOT JAM BROADCASTS, EVEN IF  
CONTENT FAR FROM OBJECTIVE.

-- UNDERSCORED BY FRG, ITALIAN AND DUTCH REPS.

(8) SOVIET CRITICISM OF RL BROADCASTS, WHILE SUPPORTING  
RIGHT OF RADIO MOSCOW TO BROADCAST, REPRESENTS DOUBLE

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DHA-05 BIB-01 CU-04 /097 W  
-----106290 030414Z /13

R 021626Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3236  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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STANDARD.

--CONTRAST FIRST ADVANCED BY US REP AND STRONGLY  
REITERATED BY UK DEL.

(9) CONTRAST IN PRACTICES AMONG EASTERN EUROPEAN  
COUNTRIES HAS ALSO BEEN ALLUDED TO BY A NUMBER OF EASTERN  
DELS.

B. ALLIED POSITIONS: US HAS COME OUT MOST FORCEFULLY  
ON ISSUE OF JAMMING, AND HAS BEEN STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY  
FRG, UK, DUTCH, ITALIAN AND BELGIAN REPS (SEE REF B FOR  
DETAILS). IN ADDITION TO SCORING SOVIETS, LATTER HAS  
ALSO CRITICIZED POLAND AND BULGARIA FOR JAMMING PRAC-  
TICES. WHILE MANY OTHER ALLIES LEERY OF "NAMING NAMES" FACT  
THAT ISSUE HAS BECOME DEFINED BASICALLY IN TERMS OF  
SOVIET INTERFERENCE WITH RL BROADCASTS HAS  
UNAMBIGUOUSLY IDENTIFIED MOSCOW AS TARGET OF CRITICISMS.  
DIRECT COMMENTS OF SMALLER ALLIES ON JAMMING HAVE BEEN  
UNDERSTANDABLY MUTED,  
CONSISTING FOR MOST PART OF FACT  
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THAT THEY DO NOT JAM. HOWEVER, WITHIN GENERAL CONTEXT  
OF FREER INFORMATION FLOW, SMALLER ALLIES AND FRANCE  
HAVE HIT EASTERN PRACTICES PRESENTING ARTIFICIAL OB-  
STACLES TO DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS.

C. POSITION OF NEUTRALS: ON ISSUE OF BROADCASTING,  
AUSTRIA, SWEDEN AND SWITZERLAND HAVE TAKEN STANCE AKIN  
TO SMALLER ALLIES, BUT WITH A SOMEWHAT LOUDER VOICE.  
WHILE HITTING EASTERN INFORMATION PRACTICES, NEUTRALS  
AS A WHOLE HAVE CONFINED STATEMENTS TO CATEGORY OF  
GENERAL THEMES NOTED PARA 5.A.I., THUS CRITI-  
CIZING JAMMING ONLY BY IMPLICATION.

6. DEPT: PLEASE REPEAT ABOVE AS WELL AS REFTELS AS  
DESIRED.  
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## Message Attributes

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